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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

ARAB ARMED FORCES CHIEFS OF STAFF MEET IN TUNIS

Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 39, Jun 81 p 56

[Text] The conference of chiefs of staff of the armed forces of Arab nations was held in Tunis from 28 to 30 April.

Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab States, delivered an address at the opening session of the conference, held in keeping with the recommendation of the 11th Summit Conference in Amman. In the address, he made the following remarks:

"Some may think that we are warmongers. Nothing could be more false. We are demanding our rights and all we want is to recover them without resorting to the slightest violence.

"We support the Charter of the United Nations," he said. "We believe in morals in international relations. We are enamored of peace, support the freedom of peoples to determine their own fate and are opposed to any form of oppression and expansionism. But on the day when all means have been exhausted, when our peaceful efforts have failed, when we are still running up against Israel's refusal and obstinacy, without anyone's being able to bring Israel to submit to international law and force it to halt its daily aggression against Arab territories, then on that day, we would have to be ready to face any eventuality. Nevertheless, we continue to believe in peaceful solutions and we are taking the wager."

Participants in the conference elected Gen Abdelhamid Ben Cheikh, chief of staff of the Tunisian Armed Forces, as president of the conference and adopted the conference agenda.

Slaheddine Baly, Tunisian minister of national defense, received the chiefs of staff of the Arab nations in his offices. The minister greeted them on behalf of President Habib Bourguiba, commander in chief of the armed forces, and wished them complete success in their work.

He noted that the meeting was an opportunity to enable the leaders of the Arab Armed Forces to meet with their Tunisian brothers and to learn of the social, economic and cultural achievements of the Bourguiba regime. Army Gen Mohamed Salah Al-Hamad, chief of staff of the Saudi Army, spoke on behalf of his Arab colleagues to express the thanks of the Arab military delegations for the fine organization and warm welcome extended. Gen Abderrazak Dourdari, director of the Military

Secretariat of the League of Arab States, expressed satisfaction over the positive work of the Tunisian National Army which handled organization of the meeting.

On 29 April, President Bourguiba received the chiefs of staff of the Arab Armed Forces at Carthage Palace. The meeting was attended by Mohamed Mzali Slaheddine Baly, Chedli Klibi and several high officials from the League. The president welcomed them, expressing his consideration and esteem for the work of the chiefs of staff of the Arab Armed Forces, and then invited his guests to have lunch. Following the meeting, Gen Amor Haj Mohamed, chief of staff of the Somali Armed Forces and Somali vice minister of defense, transmitted a message to President Bourguiba from President Siad Barre.

On 30 April, Mohamed Mzali met with the chiefs of staff of the five Arab armies at the Government Palace. Slaheddine Baly also attended the meeting.

After welcoming them and expressing hope for the progress and invulnerability of Arab peoples, Mzali presented the principles of Tunisia's defense policy. In this connection, he noted that Tunisia, convinced that true strength resides in the worth of the men and their ability to properly assume the weight of responsibilities entrusted to them, has devoted most of its efforts in this area to the training of Tunisians on solid, healthy foundations.

In addition, the prime minister observed that Tunisia's defense policy is based on defense by the people and general mobilization in the sense that every citizen is a soldier in wartime and an agent of production and development in peacetime. "The success of the idea of defense by the people requires the existence of trust between the people and the regime," he said. Mzali added that every country must have a minimum of forces today in order to protect its integrity and achievements and expressed the hope that all Arab forces will be united in facing the common enemy, freeing occupied Arab territories and supporting their Palestinian brothers. He also hoped that they would not be used by an Arab nation to fight another Arab nation at a time when the Palestinian people and Lebanese soil are daily the target of "repeated Zionist attacks and acts of aggression."

The military advisory committee of the League of Arab States concluded its work on 30 April. Minister of National Defense Slaheddine Baly, who presided over the closing session, delivered an address on the occasion, an address mainly concerning the overall defense policy that should be followed by the Arab world in order to face the challenges placed before it.

At the close of its work, the advisory committee of the League of Arab States released the following bulletin: "From 28 to 30 April 1981, the advisory committee made up of chiefs of staff of the Arab Armed Forces held its first meeting since the transfer of the headquarters of the League of Arab States to Tunis."

On the basis of military questions that are the subject of resolutions issued by Arab summit conferences, the committee formulated recommendations aimed at strengthening Arab military potential in order to meet the aggression of the Zionist enemy, its expansionist policy and its obstinacy in terrorizing and repressing the Palestinian people by every possible means. During the meeting, the chiefs of staff of the Arab Armed Forces followed the latest developments in the situation in Lebanon. This situation, characterized by Zionist military aggression perpetrated against

the camps, cities and villages of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, has as its goal to divide Lebanon, damage its territorial sovereignty and liquidate the Palestinian cause.

"The chiefs of staff of the Arab Armed Forces proudly note the heroic resistance of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples to this cowardly Zionist aggression, emphasizing the need to hasten the application of the recommendations made by Arab summit conferences in the military field.

"The chiefs of state of the Arab Armed Forces emphasize the need to work to unify the ranks of the Arab countries and to intensify their common effort aimed at facing the Zionist enemy. The chiefs of staff of the Arab Armed Forces closed their work by expressing their sincere thanks and gratitude to President Bourguiba, Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali and Tunisian Minister of National Defense Slaheddine Baly, for the hospitality and warm welcome extended to the Arab delegations and for the effort made to provide all the conditions required for the success of the meeting."

11,464

CSO: 4519/13

SOVIET REVERSES, MUJAHEDIN SUCCESSES CONTINUE

Soviet Rebuke of Afghan Army

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 81 p 11

[Text]

PESHAWAR, June 23: Reports reaching from across the border reveal that last month Gen. A.M. Mayorov who is Commander of the Soviet Operational group and overall incharge of the Afghan as well as Soviet forces, addressed a gathering of Afghan officers in the Ministry of Defence Kabul and expressed bitterness and displeasure over the performance of Afghan army.

He told the officers in no uncertain terms that they lacked allegiance to the political ideology of the regime.

He accused the Afghan Army of harbouring many such officers who were helping Mujahideen and defecting to them. According to his statement 20 officers and 50 other ranks of the army had been arrested shortly before on various charges of defection and rebellion. Similarly half a dozen officers of air force had deserted and joined Mujahideen.

Gen. Mayorov further said that frequent ambush on highway were making movement of supplies of troops by road very difficult and movement by air was not only difficult but very costly and some time impossible.

The purpose of his talks appeared to be to exhort Afghan officers to promote goodwill for the Afghan, the Soviet troops and

the Soviet Union in countering enumerable difficulties in unhostile environment.

Meanwhile, President Babrak Karmel of Afghanistan arrived in Prague today for an official visit to Czechoslovakia, where he once served briefly as his country's ambassador.

The official Ceteka News Agency reported that Mr. Karmel arrived by special flight and was greeted by his host, President Gustav Husak.

It was not immediately known how long he would stay, or whether he would also visit any other East bloc countries.

According to Kabul Radio the President is accompanied by Foreign Minister, Shah Mohammad Dost, Communications Minister Mohammed Aslam Watanjar and Air Force Chief General Nazari Mohammad. -PPI

Soviet Reinforcements in Kabul

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Jun 81 p 8

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 24: Heavy fighting between Afghan guerrillas and Soviet-backed government forces in the suburb of the Afghan capital Kabul has forced the Afghan Government to call for reinforcements from the provinces, Western diplomatic sources said here today.

The fighting started eight days ago. They said, for the first time since December 1979, Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan, guerrillas had blown up three tanks in Kabul itself, last Friday.

Serious fighting was reported in areas between Kabul and the former Royal resort of Paghman, about 20 kms west of the city.

After the fighting started, helicopter gunships were seen flying towards the areas from Kabul International Airport.

Today's informants, quoting reliable sources, said the guerrillas had raided the dreaded Pul-i-Charki Prison near Kabul on Wednesday last week, and captured dozens of AK-47 rifles. Hundreds of wounded women and children had also arrived in Kabul after government troops aided by Soviet planes attacked the rebel stronghold of Schenar Valley in Wardak province the previous day, Tuesday.

In the Kabul suburbs, troops had been seen massing for action last Friday and Saturday near the Paghman-Kandahar Road intersection, the informants said.

On Friday, at least 31,000 troops were brought into the capital from Logar, apparently to reinforce troops in and around the city. Night flares had frequently been seen in Kabul, and powerful searchlights were on, the informants said.

Heavy gun-fire was also reported from Koh-e-Akmal, one of the two hills in Kabul which has a television tower.

The rebels lobbed two grenades in an army jeep in the Keti Sangi area of the city, which triggered in exchange of fire between guerrillas and government forces. Details were not known.

Mujahedin Capture Junar Cities

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 27 Jun 81 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, June 26: The Mujahideen of Jamiat-ul-Islami, Afghanistan, have reportedly taken under their control the cities of Asmar and Anal in Junar province during the past week.

In two separate attacks they killed as many as 172 Russians and Karmel troops capturing seven of them alive in a fierce fighting which continued unabated in Chack Sub city of Wardak province for four days in the early days of last week.

According to a Jamiat Press release eight Mujahideen also laid down their lives in the encounter including a young girl. The Mujahideen also captured 42 Gernov machine guns, six Kalashnikov, 15 rifles, four communication sets, five radio sets, four binoculars and a large quantity of other explosives.

The fighting that resulted in domination of Mujahideen over Asmar and Anal of Kunar Province besides numerous casualties. A huge quantity of ammunition also came into the hands of the Mujahideen.

Reports from Kandhar province say that the Russian invading forces put under heavy artillery fire the city of Kandhar two weeks back in which a great number of innocent citizens was martyred including women and children.

The Mujahideen in resistance destroyed two tanks and a military vehicle.

Another report revealed that the Russian air force bombers raided the village of Nowrooz situated in Argandab of Kandhar province during the same period which resulted in the death of a large number of innocent people which included old men, women and children. The village was showing a scene of ruins, the report adds.

The invading forces made another brutal and inhuman operation in Malagat area of the pro-

vince where they put on fire the entire agricultural crops.

A fresh report of Hazrat Islami, Afghanistan, speak of continuous activities of its affiliated Mujahid groups in all over the country. The report says that the Mujahideen in some guerrilla operations killed three militiamen wounding several others in Jemal-dan Sub province of Paktia last week.

Meanwhile Radio Teheran reported that the Afghan freedom fighters are engaged in several clashes in the vicinity of Kabul against Afghan and Soviet troops. The Mujahideen set three Soviet tanks on fire in Kabul.

In a clash with the Soviet troops in Ningarhar province, the Mujahideen successfully destroyed two Soviet tanks. As many as 53 Soviet soldiers were killed and a number of machine guns captured. The report also says that the Soviet aircraft and helicopters have intensified air raids.—PP

Mujahedin Victories in Provinces

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 28 Jun 81 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, June 27: The Mujahideen of Hazbe Islami, Afghanistan, have brought under their administrative control Dashte Archi district of Kundoz province for the third time. They also killed a Parchami leader and brother of the Administrator of this district.

The Karmal forces, enraged by the killing of Parchami leader, attacked the area killing 70 innocent people.

On receiving the news of the brutal Soviet act, the Mujahideen rushed to the scene and after a fierce clash besieged the Town Public Club, the last centre of the government officials. The siege continued for three days. The Mayor of the city and his brother namely Ahmad Jan, a ruthless Communist, along with 12 others were killed and the entire offices of the government taken in to the control of Mujahideen. About 20 persons were also arrested by them from the offices the Parcham Party. Two Mujahideen also laid down their lives in the fighting.

The Mujahideen are also reported to have intensified their activities in Kunar province where they killed over 100 Russian and Afghan troops including three Russian military officers in Nary sub-district near Pak-Afghan border in 20 hours of unabated fierce fighting.

According to the details, the Mujahideen contacted the Afghan troops stationed in the area and had the assurance of non-resistance on guarantee of their life safety. Later they carried huge offensive over the Russian military positions. Over 100 troops of the Afghan army were killed and several government offices in the area were set ablaze by the Mujahideen.

The report further said the Mujahideen also captured heavy quantity of ammunition including two artillery batteries, two mortar, two machine-guns, and 300 rifles.

A government agent Abdul Razzaq and his son were executed by the Mujahideen at their residence on June 15 last and a wireless set and a sub-machine gun-recovered from them. The incident occurred within the vicinity of Kabul.

In Sheikhan village, 15 km south of Kabul, a group of 20 militia men was shot dead on June 15 last. Four

units have reportedly been blown up by the Mujahideen guerrillas in an encounter that took place in Ilse-Logari and Sheikhan villages Charasiab district of Kabul.

An eye witness report said 21 Russian and Karmal men were killed in a fighting in Lalandar, 23 km south of Kabul city.

Another report received from Ghazni said all villages of Ghazni province have been liberated and the Mujahideen control a part of Ghazni City where the government had no control. Six Mujahideen were also martyred in the same area. -PFI

CSO: 14600/57

IRAN

EX-PRESIDENT BIASTED BY TEHRAN WEEKLY

Bani-Sadr's Letter to Iranian People

Tehran ETTELA'AT-E HAFTEGI in Persian 14 Jun 81 pp 2, 3

[Text] In the Name of the Almighty

Moslem People of Iran:

You, with your decisive vote, elected me as president. Now you can ask yourselves, would I have been forced into this situation if I had gone along with the expectations of the power hungry? If I had not become your spokesman and had not protested, if I had not reported to you the situation of the country every day, if I had considered everything that occurred legitimate, if . . . would they have done this to me?

I have neither betrayed my religion nor your vote and I have tried my best. I was informed of many of the events and gave warning in time. They drowned out my voice in the loud chatter of those who have created this atmosphere. And now, too, like my ancestor Hoseyn Ebn-e 'Ali (peace be upon him) had done, I will tell you of the dangers I predict:

Of the three mottoes of the Islamic revolution--independence, freedom, and Islamic Republic--no meaningful content will remain:

1. As a result of the budget they have prepared, with the oil they are exporting, and with the agreements they are signing, economic independence will be destroyed. And since there is no security, the condition of you, the deprived people of the society, will worsen and high prices and unemployment will make your lives miserable.
2. Without economic independence and given the existing internal insecurity and foreign war, political independence will be lost.
3. Not much remains of freedom. Insecurity has reached such a point that a pound sterling worth 3,000 rials 2 and 1/2 years ago is now

worth more than 50,000 rials. The newspapers have been closed and mouths have been shut and it will be even worse in the future. A group who have taken over all the high positions will resort ever increasingly to oppressive measures because of the worsening of the situation and their becoming discredited in the eyes of the public. And they themselves will become victims of the situation.

4. Someone condemned to death and under the gallows once said: Oh, freedom, what crimes are committed in your name!

Today, and tomorrow more than today, it will be said: Oh, Islam, what crimes are committed in your name. They will so badly discredit religion that no one will be able to speak of religion for a century or to take a right step in its name.

5. I have committed no wrong but to desire independence, freedom, and Islam to be implemented as the determinants of independence and freedom and the nurturing ground for the overall growth and elevation of humankind. I have not made a living through Islam; but I have spent my life serving it. I have told you people that they were slowly carrying out a coup and I described its stages step by step. They are now involved in the last stage, which is to take the presidency away from me and kill me. If they do so, in addition to what I have predicted above, the following will also happen:

A. Continuing clashes will be added to the existing armed clashes within the country and will escalate the above difficulties.

Our people are not deaf or blind. They see their daily situation and they realize that two and a half years of government by the ruling party has worsened the situation of the country with each day. There is no security; the economy has been paralyzed; internal and external wars continue and now there is danger of their expansion.

B. If the forced war is prolonged, it will end in the wasting away of the Iranian and Iraqi forces and the grounds will be prepared in the Middle East for U.S. plans. And, as you saw in the course of the hostage issue, they will end up accepting shameful conditions. In the same way that they did not anticipate the dangers and said at one time, "While we are holding the hostages we are holding the United States by the throat," and when they surrendered, they said, "The hostages were unmarketable items and we had to get rid of them any way we could," they will say, "We had no other choice but to surrender." Let the people know that:

Four foreign ministers came and suggested that the Iraqi forces retreat to Iraqi territory, keeping some distance from the border, and establish a demilitarized zone allowing the differences to be resolved politically. We asked them to bring maps and make their suggestions clear for us on the map. They were supposed to come on

in Khordad [8 Jun] but changed their minds when they saw the situation in the country. Today, we have the best military situation since the beginning of the war. I believe that if they would have left us alone, with a few significant victories, we would not only have achieved a military victory but also disturbed U.S. plans in the whole region and we could have started that third era in history. We withstood the external blow; we stopped the aggressive army; and we had begun to destroy it. They did what they did from behind, which you know. This is the situation of the war to date. We will wait and see how this situation changes. If these dangers that I have enumerated are recognized by you the people and if you feel in your hearts that I am speaking the truth and with sincerity, if I have been tested in that position and the opportunities have not beguiled me and I was prepared to face everything to be loyal to the religion and your vote, if it is clear to you that there is much difference between the words and actions of one who is not yet riding the reins of power and one who is, and if you believe that the true test is when one has at his disposal the means for autocratic rule and he does not use them [paragraphing as published],

Then believe me that the dangers I have enumerated do not include all the dangers, and they are serious ones. Believe me that in order to prevent these dangers I put myself in danger in every way. And believe me that I have not stopped thinking about this danger even for one moment and I have wanted to create a secure, free social atmosphere to ensure the rapid growth of the country.

I believe that the solution is easy. I have continually told you so.

On the day that I went to Dezful, the city was about to fall. I talked to the military personnel and told them to believe in themselves and they could stop and defeat the enemy. They accepted this; they acted and succeeded. And now I am telling you the people: Believe in your ability; do not yield to those who create the atmosphere, the bludgeon-carriers; put up resistance. You have found ways to resist in the past and you can find them now.

Woe be to those who want to "finish the business" in a hurry. I have said it frequently and I say it now:

You have planned to take away the authority of the presidency. You answered that this was the lie of the year. Now it is clear who was the liar of the year.

You have planned to abolish the presidency. And you said this was skepticism and imagination. You have already come this far.

Come, let us create cooperation and through sincerely implementing the law, bring the country out of this predicament. You used the

law to advance your own views, hampering the true implementation of the law.

In order to avoid the dangers, and in order to avoid making the people more worried than they already are, let us:

A. Respect the freedoms stated in the Constitution and safeguard the freedom of expression and the pen, with confidence that our people are wise and brave and will not be influenced by provocative articles and speeches.

B. Let us carry out the Constitution line by line and determine where violations have occurred and implement the law.

C. Let us make the judicial system independent and impartial, which is what Islam instructs, and create real security instead of dismissing everyone and using force in dealing with every problem. Let us have a plan to solve the problems of the country and through real open discussions prevent the conflicts of opinions from turning into conflicts of bludgeons and arms.

Sisters and brothers:

I have described for you the situation as I see it with absolute truthfulness. I am saying to you that if you do not stand up today while there is still time to eliminate dictatorship before it has been consolidated and before it establishes ties with foreign domination, then they will do to you what I have said and worse.

Today, all day long and all night long, the official and unofficial bludgeon-carriers have surrounded the dwelling and work places of your elected president. These people are exceptional; they are capable of every pretense and low act. What will they do to you tomorrow?

As God is my witness, I have done my duty and informed you of what I must inform you.

It is for you to worry about the destiny of the Islamic revolution and your country and to put up resistance.

President Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr

22 Khordad 1360 [12 Jun 81]

Response to DANI-SADR's Letter

Tehran KTTALA'AT-E HAFTEGI in Persian 14 Jun 81 pp 2, 3, 59

[Text] In the last moments while the magazine was ready to go to press, a letter by Mr DANI-SADR addressed to the Moslem people of Iran reached us, and, as we had said in the previous issue, we decided to print it. In connection with this letter, many issues can be raised. In this issue, however, we confine ourselves to only mentioning a few points and we will follow up the subject in the next issue with documents and proof on a larger and more readily apparent scale:

1. Mr DANI-SADR, addressing the Moslem people of Iran, you say: "You, with your decisive vote." Are you addressing in your letter today the same people who gave you a decisive vote or those who have changed places with your opponents of that time? And who were those who voted for you? All the Islamic Societies of offices, universities, schools, the army, etc.--the decisive majority of the forces of the imam's line and millions of the masses who follow the imam's path. But who were those who did not vote for you or who boycotted you? The monarchists, the People's Mojahedin, the National Front, Peykari, etc.

In this light, who are those who oppose you and those who support you today? Are those who carry out your wishes in the streets today not those who were your opponents yesterday?

2. You have said: "If I had gone along with the expectations of the power hungry . . . would they have done this to me?"

How is it that you prefer compromise and cooperation with all the opponents of the revolution--including the monarchists (Ashraf Pahlavi has also supported you), the People's Mojahedin, the National Front, the Panjbaran Party, the Peykari, etc.--compromising the imam and the forces of the imam's line? How was it that you aligned yourself with all the counterrevolutionary forces but not with the revolutionary forces?

Whose spokesman have you really become? The spokesman of all those who followed the imam's directives to go to the ballot boxes and vote for you or the spokesman of the boycotters of the elections?

3. Was what was published as the president's reportcard in reality a list of all your endless efforts to eliminate the deprivation and poverty of the downtrodden? Was it about the condition of the deprived farmers and your reportcard about Paragraph "C" [Jim]? Was it about the miserable condition of the workers and about stopping the capitalists? Was it about the nationalization of trade, and so on and so forth? Instead of reporting the efforts on behalf of the

deprived of the country, did your reports not intently concern your efforts to eliminate the government, the Majles, the judicial branch, etc.? And, in fact, was it not a report for all the counterrevolutionary, anti-imam, and anti-imam's-line forces?

4. Mr Hani-Jadr, what standards or measures are used to determine religious treason?

Is the vote of the people not dependent on Religious Guardian Jurisprudence and is turning one's back on them not religious treason?

Is getting some people's vote and then uniting with their opponents and enemies not treacherous to the voters? If this is the meaning of trust, then what is the meaning of betrayal?

If you believe in the way of your ancestor Hoseyn Ebn-e 'Ali (peace be upon him), why have you risen against his only worthy son of the time?

5. You said that with the budget they have ratified, economic independence will be destroyed. Is the eight-month-old government responsible for the reliance of the Iranian economy on oil or is the previous regime? Did the budgets of '58 [1979-80], ratified by your friend Mr Bazargan, and '59 [1980-81], ratified by yourself, rely on anything besides oil? Should this reliance not be eliminated in the long term? In essence, did you offer a plan for a budget which was not dependent on oil that was not accepted by the government and the Majles, or did you indulge exclusively in incitement and opposition? If you have had such a program or plan, why has it not been published in FOTOLAB-E KEBLANI? Is this expectation of yours not similar to the expectation that the economic difficulties will be solved over night held by pro-American mini-groups such as Feykari, Ranjbari, and even that of Bahak Zahra'i, whom you have joined today with your voice?

6. You have tried, as though it were possible, to find the slightest problem with the political independence of the country, but you have not succeeded. You have put it off into the future saying that since economic independence is in danger due to reliance on oil, political independence will also be lost.

Your reasoning is unscientific and for the purpose of provocation and creating an advantageous atmosphere. The mere fact that at this given point in time, we sell a certain amount of oil does not prove a dark economic future. Yes, if reliance on oil were to grow over a 10-year period, economic independence would be endangered. But how have you predicted the future? At least today, in comparison with the previous regime, instead of 6.5 million barrels, only 2.5 million are supposed to be exported (and then only "are supposed to be"--in practice, it has not been more than 1 million barrels).

7. You have said there is no freedom because in 2 and 1/2 years the pound sterling worth 3,000 rials has become worth 50,000 rials!

a. Has there been no (highest indicated) inflation during this period in other countries which have no war and no internal or external conflicts?

b. By two and one half years, which is exactly the period since the victory of the revolution, do you not mean that since the revolution, security and freedom are less than they were during the previous regime? And if this is what you really mean, it is more proof that you grew up in the climate of Paris and you have mistaken it with Iran during the previous regime.

c. Supposing one would accept your claim, then it must be asked who has been more responsible during this two and one half years?

Nine months of rule were by a government of your own faction and rooted coalition. Only instead of you, it was headed by Bazargan, whose only difference with you is the depth of piety and religiosity. (During this period, you were a member of the Revolutionary Council.)

Of 11 months of rule by the Revolutionary Council, you were a member of the Revolutionary Council during the first 5 months, the minister for Economic Affairs and Finance, and for a while the foreign minister, and in the remaining 6 months, the positions of head of the Revolutionary Council, president, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces were added.

What remains are the last 10 months of Raja'i's government, which has coincided with a war on such a large scale and for 7 months; and 3 of his important ministries have been without ministers (Economic Affairs, Trade, and Foreign Affairs), one of which is still without a minister. And yet, during this same period, you were the president and commander-in-chief and were legally responsible, having the right to form meetings of the Cabinet ministers with you as the chairman, to speak of those magical plans of yours. Then, if they did not act accordingly you could have exposed them and

Therefore, one of the people who is responsible, more than everyone else, and even a defender of the regime before your presidency was you yourself. This statement of yours could be expected of Babak Zahra'i, Rajavi, Sanjabi, Peykari, or Ranjbari; but from you it is illogical and even ridiculous.

8. You say that they have closed the newspapers, suppression has come, and so on. At a time when newspapers such as AYANDEGAN, KEYHAN, STELLA'AT all followed the way of your newspaper, the people sacrificed, collected money, and gave it to you to establish a newspaper which would stand up against the existing provocative newspapers.

They even attacked and closed them or changed their managements. At that time, you did not speak of suppression but accused these provocative newspapers of censorship. Now, however, your newspaper had become even worse than AYANDEGAN had been in the past. Did you not even betray those who gave money to create this newspaper? Are the majority of your readers today not the same readers of AYANDEGAN, HAKIMAT, etc.? Were you supposed to publish a newspaper for them? How can you explain this? When you were at the height of popularity, at the time of the presidential elections in which you gained 75 percent of the vote, your newspaper sold 30,000 to 40,000 copies, but after your speeches of 17 Shahrivar [9 Sep], 22 Bahman [11 Feb], 14 Farvardin [5 Mar], etc., the sales even reached 400,000 copies. Did your supporters increase 10-fold during this period of time? Or do these figures show a 180-degree change of your social base and speak clearly of your betrayal of the original goals?

9. You, similar to Bakhtiari, Madani, and others, and all the imperialist radio stations, such as the Voice of America, BBC, Cologne, Israel, are upset with the Islam that governs Iran today, the Islam which has rubbed the nose of the superpowers in the region, above all the United States, into the ground. Now, in your opinion and the opinion of those who say the same things you do, this religion is not true Islam while the religion of Carter, Reagan, Bakhtiari, Madani, and the like is the true Islam?

10. Have you who spent 20 years in the pleasant and free climate of Paris, in open discussions served Islam or that devout 80-year-old man? Has all that you have achieved thusfar, including membership in the Revolutionary Council, the ministerial positions, the presidency, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, etc., not been a living that you have made through Islam and the Islamic revolution?

11. You have threatened the people with armed war should you be dismissed. By whom is this war going to be waged? By 11.5 million of your voters or by the coalition of "the People's Mojahedin, Peykari, Banjbari, Fada'i, the National Front, etc."?

12. One of your characteristics is that you speak in generalities. In this letter, you did not in the end make it clear whether you are against the continuation of the present war or for it. On the one hand, you say: People, beware; they will prolong the war and, as in the hostage case, they will finally surrender and know that four ministers came for peace but . . . And on the other hand, you say that if they would have let you, you would have achieved military victory and the third era would have begun in the world and the United States would have been destroyed in the region, etc. And at the end of this double talk, in a generalizing sentence which, like your other predictions, is a miracle, you say: "Wait and see how the situation changes." Note your other prediction concerning the war: "If [it] is prolonged, it will end in the wasting away of the

Iranian and Iraqi forces and the grounds will be prepared in the Middle East for U.S. plans." This, too, is certainly some prediction! Everyone knows that if any way is prolonged at any time or place, the forces of each side will waste away. But will this war be prolonged? This is the art of prediction. Now, if the war would end tomorrow in the victory of Iran, you are bound to say: "I had predicted that if the war is prolonged such and such would happen; but it was not."

Mr Bani-Sadr, if you want the truth, the main point is that we must see why the students and the young people who were supporting you were gradually disappointed in you. Because you gradually changed your identity day by day from a creative cultural individual with no titles to a headliner who speaks in generalities and who "talks" more than he has something to "say." Once, they knew you as a teacher and made you known as such. Today, they see that you have become a politician through and through, precisely like the old hand newsmaking Western personages whose only skill is to talk without saying anything and to predict without risking anything or conveying anything. Even to cover up your turning your back on one of your original goals, "open discussions," you speak of "true open discussions." It is not clear what you mean by the term "true."

13. Mr Bani-Sadr, you call for the people you address to "resist." Who are you calling to resist whom? The people against the imam? Or are those you are addressing the same people who put up resistance on 17 Shahrivar 57 [8 Sep 78], gaining experience in how to put up resistance, and are you now calling them bludgeon-carriers, party members, etc.?

14. Who are the bludgeon-carriers? If a group attacks the offices of the [Islamic] Republican Party, the revolutionary institutions, the Shahid Foundation, etc., and call out "death to Behešti" on 14 Esfand [5 Mar], it is interpreted as the "presence of the people on the scene"; but if four months later some people attack the offices of the Party for the Coordination with the President and call out "death to Bani-Sadr," they are bludgeon-carriers. What are the standards and measures? How long do you plan to generalize?

15. One of the untruths told is being told to the people and you think that the people do not understand that you are supposedly against [political] parties in principle and on that basis you have not formed a party, yet! But, Mr Bani-Sadr, you know yourself the truth is otherwise. You are part of the core of a group, including Salamatiyan, Nobari, Ja'fari, Ghazanfarpur, etc., who, in practice, formed a party from the beginning of your entry to the country. However, since you found the people to be basically against parties, you have tried not to have a name for your party officially and openly. Otherwise, what does a party consist of which your group lacks--a core, supporters, a newspaper, a leader, etc.? Only for a

while did you continue your party activities with no name. During the elections, you acted as Bani-Sadr's electoral offices and since the presidency, as the Offices for the Coordination of the People with the President.

16. You say: "People, you see now that I predicted they were going to dismiss the president; and you see today that this has come to be." This is like the story about the person who had lent 1,000 tomans [10,000 rials] to another person and asked for his money back. The person in debt says: Let us go to the judge. There I will give you the money, so you will not deny my payment later. The first man agrees. On the way, the man in debt says: You should buy a donkey so we can ride; we cannot go on foot. The lender buys a donkey. The debtor, then, says: One should go to the judge dressed well; so you should buy me some proper clothes, shoes, and a hat. The lender agrees. Then the debtor says: We should also take a few cans of oil and honey to the judge as presents; we cannot just walk in empty handed. The lender buys some oil and honey, and so on. Finally, when they arrive at the judge's, the lender tells the judge: "He should give me 1,000 tomans." At this moment, the debtor turns to the judge and says, "Your honor, this man has got his nerve. If I agree to this, he would say that my clothes belong to him as well." The lender asks: "Are your clothes not mine?" The debtor immediately says, "Didn't I say so, your honor?" You just wait; he is sure to say that my hat and shoes are his, too." Again the lender asks: Are they not mine? The debtor tells the judge: "Your honor, did I not say he has got his nerve? Now he wants to take away everything I possess . . ." Now, Mr Bani-Sadr, your story is similar to this anecdote. For a while there was no Majles, no government, and no Supreme Judicial Council. That is, you were the head of both the legislative and the executive branches. For this reason, as the head of the Revolutionary Council, you interfered in the judicial branch. Later, when each one of those organizations were formed in accordance with the Constitution--the Majles was formed; the government was created; and the Supreme Judicial Council was established--you were supposed to transfer all these responsibilities to the proper organizations. But instead, you began to shout that they want to dismiss the president. Of course, because the formation of these three branches was predictable, you layed the framework for these cries from the start. And today, despite the fact that you know that the Constitution has determined certain duties for the president, you want all the organizations, including the Majles, the Supreme Judicial Council, the Cabinet, the Council of Guardians, all the revolutionary institutions of the [Construction] Crusade and the pasdaran, etc., even the whole nation (taking into consideration the fact that the name of your party is "The Office of Coordination of the People's Cooperation with the President" (1), meaning that all the people must coordinate themselves with the president and not vice versa), and even recently the leader, to coordinate themselves with you. And your views and opinions are supposed to be the

determining views for all the national forces and the whole nation. You have reached such a degree of self-centeredness that you say: "My" trial is the same as the trial of the "nation" which has voted for "me." Are these demands and characteristics not those of a dictatorship?

17. You said yourself that the nation will not turn its back on its servant. This is an undeniable truth. But how do you expect the nation to choose you when the choice is between you, who merely have a record of two years of speeches to the nation, and that pious old man whose entire life and flesh and bones have been formed along the path of saving and elevating a nation and who has suffered many difficult years of homelessness and exile for the victory and the exaltation of a nation? If you were not the president, which would you choose? What was your choice before being elected president? Mr Bani-Sadr, if the referendum you request were to take place and it was proved that, for instance, the nation did not want you, the way you like, how many times would you want to repeat the experience and deny its legitimacy through provocations, saying that it had been tampered with, it had been influenced, etc.? (You have done the same in various cases, such as those concerning the Majles, the Constitution, the government, the Trilateral Commission, etc.)

9593

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IRAN

HEZB-OLLAH PHILOSOPHY DESCRIBED

Tehran CHATER O-SHO'ARA' in Persian 16 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] Hezb-ollah (God's Party) is a current. It is a flood, a crushing and angry flood which roars and crumbles all forms and delusions--Hezb-ollah is more than a flood; it is a nation, a nation with its back covered with the lash marks and torture marks of thousands of years of "Shahanshahi [monarchical]" regimes, a nation mourning dozens of blood-stained shrouds. Yes, Hezb-ollah is a nation weary of any kind of leaning towards the East and West, with its pockets full of documentation of the treasons of the Westernized and Easternized pseudo-intellectuals. Hezb-ollah understands, can analyze better than any intellectual, recognizes friends from enemies, and cannot tolerate seeing once again the crimes of its false [illegible], a nation that loves more than anyone its leader and imam. Hezb-ollah is simple, is sincere; and since it has nothing but a backpack of thousands of years of pain--and that is why although it is extremely simple and sincere, it is angry and tempestuous--avoid the anger of Hezb-ollah, the initial anger which, when it becomes a flood, crushes what is not following the line of its leader. Hezb-ollah is God's hand which reaches out of the people's sleeve. Hezb-ollah is of the same material as Abuzar. It does not recognize Marx, Lenin, liberalism, or communism. Oh intellectual groups, be ashamed of what you accuse the Hezb-ollah. Oh curse be upon you, for everything that the people suffer is the result of your sick thoughts and hands. Hezb-ollah loves its imam more than you can imagine. Khomeyni is the spirit of Hezb-ollah, the heart of Hezb-ollah. Khomeyni is not an idol for the Hezb-ollah, he is a big brother, a supporter, and most of all an imam.

Hezb-ollah can savor the simple food of its imam every day. Hezb-ollah will not easily sell out the simplicity, sincerity, and piety of its imam after all those bitter experiences. Hezb-ollah dislikes people who talk a lot and hates imported analyses. Hezb-ollah does not use cologne, does not wear a tie, and does not smoke American cigarettes. And it does not understand the meanings of proletariat and bourgeois. You will never find him in warm, comfortable rooms and deluxe American cars, devouring imported ideas. You think of

Hezb-ollah as stupid; but Hezb-ollah knows very well that you cannot be his defender. You lie. Hezb-ollah also knows your painted women. You might ask where Hezb-ollah gets all this information. Hezb-ollah is everywhere. When he sells you ice cream and plums, when he changes the water in your pool, when you sit in his taxi, when you buy bread and meat from him, when he provides your needs from the factories, when he is sitting in the classroom, and . . . Everywhere he watches you and collects information to take as a gift to his brothers and sisters of Hezb-ollah. Nowhere in the world, in any country, will you find information more solid than the information of Hezb-ollah. You might be surprised; but, Hezb-ollah knows your salary. Let us tell you a secret: Hezb-ollah knows where you go on weekends and . . . Hezb-ollah is not a party. It is not a group. It is a people; it is a nation which comes every Friday and, like God's blessed rain, washes and cleanses all ugliness and pollution off the walls of the city . . . Hezb-ollah began, became a flood, and crushed the totally armed, dependent regime, because his God had commanded.

"Support God and He will support you" or "Indeed, God's Party will be victorious" [Arabic].

Hezb-ollah becomes more solid and alert each day and pushes the enemy back. Long live Islam throughout the world. Victory to the Islamic revolution of Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni-- The Soldiers of the 12th Imam.

9592

CSO: 4640/29

INCREASED SHARE OF GULF AIR TRAFFIC SOUGHT

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 3 Jun 81 p 8

[Article by Muhammad Al-Shiti]

"Ahmad al-Mashari Talks to AL-QABAS on Present and Future of Kuwaiti Airlines; Putting Air Taxi into Operation and Establishing Aviation Services Company Shortly; Our Prices Have Been Frozen Since 1979 and Government Shoulders Difference; Our 5-Year Plan Includes Gigantic Projects to Transform Kuwait into Arab Aviation Center; British Airways To Be Denied Rights of Transportation Beyond Kuwait in November; Ticket Fares Are Cheaper Than in Gulf, Arab World and Europe; Establishment of Center for Maintenance of Kuwaiti and Arab Airbus Fleets; New York Route Is Successful; 'Bed Seats' To Be Designated in First Class"

[Text] The Kuwaiti Airlines organization will turn into a modern company capable of competing internationally and Kuwait will become shortly an Arab aviation center whose training, maintenance and service activities will go beyond the local level to the regional level as a whole. This is what has been asserted by Ahmad al-Mashari, the general director of the Kuwaiti Airlines, in a lengthy interview with AL-QABAS on the organization's strategy and projects in the coming period.

Al-Mashari has also said that studies are currently underway to set up an air taxi company and another service company that includes a central kitchen and provides for an automatic computer reservation system. Work has also begun to set up an engine-maintenance center and another center for the maintenance of the Kuwaiti and Arab Airbus planes, in addition to an advanced center containing the latest international equipment for training Kuwaiti, Gulf and Arab pilots, engineers and technicians.

Al-Mashari has asserted that these projects will raise revenues of the Kuwaiti Airlines and will give it the opportunity to expand its activities and to strengthen its fleet which will include in 1985 a total of 4 Boeing-747 aircraft and 4 Boeing-727 aircraft, in addition to the new fleet of Airbuses. Moreover, a Boeing-727 has been purchased for government use.

Al-Mashari has further said that travel fares on the Kuwaiti Airlines have been frozen since 1979 and that the government shoulders the difference in prices, amounting to 6 million dinars in the current year.

Air Taxi

At the outset of the interview, Al-Mashari said that the Higher Aviation Council has entrusted the Kuwaiti Airlines with studying the foundation of a company that undertakes special trips on demand--an air taxi company--and that relies on a limited fleet of small aircraft, with the duration of trips ranging from 2-4 hours.

The purpose of this type of air service is to meet the needs of businessmen whose economic activities require them to make fast private trips and to save them the costs of owning their private aircraft, especially since such ownership saddles them with big additional expenses, such as constant pilot and maintenance engineer wages. Moreover, such private aircraft are not exploited continually, which makes them costly and economically unfeasible.

Al-Mashari added that the Kuwaiti Airlines has conducted a poll among companies and businessmen on this issue and that the outcome of the poll has shown that there is demand for this type of air service. But we are trying at present to weigh the volume of the demand for an air taxi service against the expected operational costs to determine the degree of the [project's] economic feasibility.

The Kuwaiti Airlines has two options available to it at present: First, set up a company for this special service completely owned by the Kuwaiti Airlines or, second, enter as a partner with any airline in the area engaging in this type of service so as to benefit from its specialized experiences and resources.

Al-Mashari expects the proposed air taxi company to start its operations with 3 aircraft, each with a 10 passenger capacity and all of the same type and specifications; this will reduce the costs of maintenance and of spare parts and will not require diversifying the experience of the pilots.

Consequently, this company will not be able to purchase private aircraft owned by Kuwaitis at present because they are of various types and specifications. Generally the purchase of aircraft for the air taxi service is governed by numerous other factors, including the condition and efficiency of the aircraft and other considerations which will be discussed in time.

Government Aircraft

Regarding the rise in the demand for the private government-controlled aircraft, Al-Mashari said: There are at present 2 aircraft, each with a capacity of 14 passengers. We have ordered a new Boeing-727 which will be set aside for the government. This aircraft will be delivered by the end of the year and will replace the Boeing-737 which had been set aside for state purposes and which has been sold.

Al-Mashari said that this number will meet the government needs and purposes and that there has never been a case when the state agencies have needed to use four aircraft simultaneously.

Service Companies

On the other hand, Al-Mashari has said that the Kuwaiti Airlines, like the other major airlines, has begun to set up its own service company, that the steps to

complete the creation of this company are near completion, that 'Abd-al-Latif al-Hamad, the minister of finance, has approved it and that the measures to register it with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry are currently underway.

He has also said that the most prominent objective of the company is to cater food for the aircraft of the Kuwaiti Airlines and of other airlines and that a central kitchen is currently being built in the latest style and fitted with the latest equipment. He further said: We have already started training the technical and administrative cadres who will manage it.

Al-Mashari also pointed out that this company will undertake automatic reservation and sales activities and that it will sell the automatic reservation service to travel agencies operating in Kuwait. In the future, the company will be entrusted with airport traffic activities.

The purpose of sitting up this company is to give it greater flexibility in performing the tasks entrusted to it and to keep it free of the redtape of the mother company so that it may have a commercial quality in cooperating with other parties and may give us a bigger profit.

But this company will remain under the direct control of the mother company's management and of all the government agencies concerned. It will have a board of directors and an independent budget attached to the organization's general budget. It is expected that the company's capital will be close to 3 million dinars.

Al-Mashari expects this company to be able to realize profits in the future by selling services and food to the Kuwaiti Airlines and other airlines and, consequently, to be able to contribute to making up for the losses of the mother company or to enhancing its profits.

New Strategy

Regarding the organization's new strategy, Al-Mashari said that there is a 5-year plan which started in 1981 and will continue until 1985 and which includes various expansion projects, whether in terms of installations, of aircraft or of the service system. We have determined the volume of our employment needs and the type of these needs for each year.

Al-Mashari also said: We are now in the process of transforming the Kuwaiti Airlines into a modern company with a competitive capability. This requires acquisition of the types of aircraft that suit the age into which we are moving and requires studying how suitable our installations are for this [Acquisition], and whether they are up to the standard of the aircraft that we possess or will possess and whether we will continue or not continue to depend on the outside world for training and numerous maintenance operations.

Through the answer to these fundamental questions, the features of the organization's future strategy will be defined and, consequently, many of our policies and our executive decisions will be modified. For example, we have decided to dispose by the end of this year of two Boeing-707 aircraft out of the eight aircraft of this type that we possess. These two aircraft will be ready for sale by the end of the year and we will be left with six Boeing-707 aircraft.

Engineer Maintenance Center

He added: There is another aspect to developing the Kuwaiti Airlines, namely the aspect of finding sources of revenue other than ticket and shipping fares. In this regard, we have steered clear of the spheres not connected with the aviation industry, such as purchasing hotels, as many of the international airlines do, and other businesses. Rather, we have decided to turn Kuwait into an engine maintenance center and we have set up for the purpose a special workshop which is the only one of its kind in the area and which will be ready for operation in the next few months. We have also built an enormous hanger, which has cost us 11 million dinars, to perform maintenance operations for Airbus aircraft, whether belonging to the Kuwaiti Airlines or other airlines who have purchased this type of aircraft. This will bring us additional revenues. We will also dispense with sending our engines [for maintenance] abroad. We will save the shipping fares and make up for [presumably meaning avoid] the time loss incurred as a result of putting the engines out of operation and, of maintenance delays abroad, not to mention the fluctuations in maintenance costs and the facts that these costs are controlled by others.

Al-Mashari went on to say that diversifying the Kuwaiti Airlines revenues will not be confined to these activities alone and that negotiations are currently going on with the Customs Department to assign the operations pertaining to all (imports by air) to the Kuwaiti Airlines in return for a symbolic fee paid by the client.

Local Training Center

The general director of the Kuwaiti Airlines then proceeded to discuss the training programs by virtue of their constituting a fundamental element in developing the organization's technical and administrative cadres. He said that the existing situation relied on sending pilots, engineers and technicians for training abroad. But it has been decided to set up a local training center supplied with the latest international equipment. This center will not be content with training the cadres working in the organization only but will also provide training for the technicians of other airlines, thus yielding an additional revenue to the Kuwaiti Airlines.

Strengthening Air Fleet

As for the aircraft fleet which constitutes the backbone of the organization's activities, this fleet will by 1985 include four Boeing-747 and four Boeing-727 aircraft, in addition to the new Airbus aircraft. The fourth Boeing-747 will be delivered at the beginning of next year. As for the Airbus aircraft, the first three will be delivered in 1983 and the rest in 1984.

Al-Mashari added: We will not purchase any cargo planes, considering that three of the airplanes that we have purchased can be completely transformed for shipping cargo, should the need arise. This has been done in anticipation of the possibility of an increased freight volume in Kuwait and in the area.

As to whether the Kuwaiti Airlines is thinking of introducing a developed type of special seats in its first class, Al-Mashari said that this issue is under discussion. We are in the process of polling first-class passengers on the Kuwaiti Airlines Boeing-747 aircraft. There will be seats that can be turned into beds by

the mere push of a button. But we will be compelled to cancel the hall in the first class cabin to be able to install these seats which require bigger space. We have given passengers a choice of the hall or of the seats and they have chosen the seats. We will cancel the upper hall in the Boeing-747 aircraft to be able to realize this objective.

New York Route

Regarding the New York route, Al-Mashari said that it is a successful route which is still under observation. In the first 3 months, this route has covered a large percentage of its operational costs and we expect to make a profit during the summer months. This means that the route is successful and that we will continue to run our planes on this route, especially since there has been strong air freight traffic from the time we started running this route. Moreover, the passenger traffic is growing steadily. We have carried nearly 120 passengers on each of the recent flights.

Al-Mashari also said that the Kuwaiti Airlines do not have the right to transport passengers from London to New York, keeping in mind that the plane that goes to London is the same one that continues its flight to New York. This is due to the fact that the British Airways has refused to grant us this transportation right. Futile negotiations were conducted in two meetings, one in London and the other in Kuwait, held between officials of the Kuwaiti and British airlines. This is why we have notified the British Airways that, in return, Kuwait will stop granting it any rights to transport passengers beyond Kuwait, whether to India or to other Asian countries. This measure is tantamount to reciprocal treatment. If the British Airways continue to insist on denying us the right to transport from London to New York, this measure will go into force in November.

We will also prevent the British Airways from using the "fifth transportation freedom," a special phrase concerning the aviation industry. Enumerating the first four freedoms, Al-Mashari said that they are: The freedom of flying over, the freedom of landing, of refueling and of making use of the ground services, the freedom of transporting passengers from Kuwait to the company's native country and the freedom of transporting passengers from the company's native country to Kuwait.

The fifth freedom is that by which the company is permitted to transport passengers from countries other than the company's native country to another country beyond, such as when the British Airways transports passengers from London to Kuwait and then picks other passengers from Kuwait to India, for example.

He said that the measure to deny the British Airways the fifth freedom rights has not been adopted against other airlines because such a measure is taken only when other airlines treat us illogically, such as when they enjoy freedoms which they do not give us. Here, the logic of reciprocal treatment imposes itself as the arbitrator in such cases. This is what has happened with British Airways.

Al-Mashari asserted that the failure to grant the Kuwaiti Airlines operational rights between London and New York will not affect the Kuwaiti Airlines or the route's operational strategy because our aircraft used to stopover at London airport for 17 hours. This is wasted idle time, in addition to the parking fees which we

paid the London airport. We have found, after conducting an economic study on this issue, that it is better for our aircraft to continue its flight to New York and that this [continued flight] is beneficial to us.

We have made a calculation and found out that fuel, food and crew costs are cheaper in the United States. By comparing this with our expectations of the passenger traffic, we have found that the operation will be profitable because it will give us an extension to a remote country and, will increase the hours in which our aircraft are put to use. This in itself is a gain, in addition to the material gain.

Added to this are the moral gains that we realize from the arrival of the Kuwaiti Airlines in Kennedy Airport and, consequently, the good reputation we gain for Kuwait's name.

He noted that the Kuwaiti Airlines carries 40 tons of goods from New York weekly and that the door is open for increased freight traffic.

The Kuwaiti Airlines' service to New York will serve the Kuwaiti students studying in the United States and the Arab citizens living in Kuwait.

Same Fares of 1979

Speaking in detail on the issue of prices, considering that it is a vital issue over which there has been a lot of argument and debate, Al-Hashari asserted that the passenger and freight fares applied at present are the same as those in force in 1979 because the Higher Aviation Council froze the fares in 1980. The Kuwaiti Airlines has proposed to the Higher Aviation Council to raise the fares in 1981 but the council has so far not approved this proposal. This will undoubtedly mean a drop in the revenues of the Kuwaiti Airlines. But there is, on the other hand, a decision by the Higher Aviation Council to compensate the Kuwaiti Airlines for the drop in revenues resulting from freezing the fares. We estimate this drop for 1981 at 6 million dinars.

In 1980, our losses amounted to 2.8 million dinars due to the failure to raise the fares. The reason for the increased loss in 1981 is due to the fact that our loss has become twofold, considering that we have frozen the fares twice: Once in 1980 and another time in 1981. Moreover, the passenger traffic has increased.

Al-Hashari added that the Kuwaiti Airlines has introduced numerous incentive rates for certain routes and areas. However, this doesn't cancel our demand for increased fares.

Moreover, the decision to reduce fares on certain routes is our own decision and is founded on commercial bases with which the Higher Aviation Council has nothing to do. Consequently, there are no compensations for the reductions to which we resort in order to enhance the traffic.

In Kuwait Only

Al-Hashari added that these fares are in force in Kuwait only whereas we are compelled to apply the fares of the other countries when the traffic is from those

countries to Kuwait. Besides, the freeze in fares approved by the Higher Aviation Council includes freight fares, in addition to passenger fares.

He said that our fares from Damascus, for example, follow the same fares prevalent in Syria. If the fares are raised in Syria, we will, consequently, raise the fare of the trip coming from Syria to Kuwait.

Al-Mashari pointed out that a comparison between the fares prevalent in Kuwait with the fares prevalent in the Gulf, in any part of the Arab homeland or even in Europe confirms that travel fares in Kuwait are the cheapest. Moreover, currency prices play a role in determining the prices of airline tickets. The price of a ticket from Italy to Kuwait, for example, may be cheaper than that of a ticket from Kuwait to Italy. This doesn't mean that the price of a ticket [from Italy] is cheap but that what has played a role is the exchange rate of the local currency.

Al-Mashari added that this has hurt the Kuwaiti Airlines which doesn't benefit from any increase [not further specified] that occurs abroad because it is lost in currency conversion. As for a local increase in prices, it will be more beneficial for us because such an increase occurs in the dinar directly.

Coordination Among Companies

Al-Mashari also pointed out that there is coordination among the Arab airline companies on prices before any IATA meeting. He asserted that Kuwait has encountered embarrassing situations with the other Arab airline companies because of its failure to raise its air ticket fares. However, this is of no consequence because each airline is governed by its government and the Kuwaiti Government sees farther than what the Kuwaiti Airlines organization can see. As long as the compensation is there and the drop in revenues is justified, the Kuwaiti Airlines faces no problem in this regard. As long as the government makes up for the losses resulting from the fare freeze, this compensation will be certainly calculated as part of the organization's annual revenues. The 1981 losses are estimated at 7 million dinars 6 million of which are due to the freeze and will be made up for by the government. Thus, the expected actual loss will be within the limits of 1 million dinars only.

8494

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DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS INTERVIEWED

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 5 Jun 81 pp 18-20

[Interview with Rashid al-Rashid, Kuwaiti deputy minister of foreign affairs by Sami al-'Uthman--date and place not specified]

"Kuwaiti deputy minister of foreign affairs to AL-YAMAMAH:
We reject Russian Expansion in area; we must hold dialogue
with all so that we may gain friends and neutralize enemies;
no imminent visits to Kuwait by Soviet officials; we reject
military bases and polarization in this part of world; what
is between South Yemen and Oman is crisis of confidence,
nothing more"

[Text] Amidst all the superpower interest surrounding the Gulf area, the area has come up with a summit meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council while still in possession of free will through which it determines its condition and its future. However, this doesn't negate the fact that the Gulf is at present and will, without exaggeration, continue to be for a long time to come the most important part of the world. There are reasons behind this importance, the most significant being, of course, the economic, political and military reasons which form in their entirety the main concern of the superpowers.

This is because the Gulf is one of the world's hot areas and this is why it attracts attention. Amidst all these factors, AL-YAMAMAH has interviewed Rashid al-Rashid, one of the prominent officials of the Kuwaiti Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the ministry's deputy minister.

In this interview, Al-Rashid discusses the tasks of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the relations between Kuwait and the world generally, particularly the latest official visit to the Soviet Union, the South Yemen-Aden (presumably meaning Oman) Reconciliation Committee and the factors that make the Gulf the most important part of the world at present. He then analyzes in a lengthy answer Kuwait's visualization for keeping the Arab Gulf area far from the conflicts of the superpowers.

Following is AL-YAMAMAH's interview with the Kuwaiti deputy minister of foreign affairs.

[Question] The world has followed with us the convocation of the Gulf cooperation summit and we have all read the communique issued on the conference and on the

[council's] internal bylaws. Yet, we have to ask, on behalf of the ordinary citizen, a direct question: What do we exactly want from this council?

[Answer] We want this council to be effective in linking the common interests of the Gulf people, not the Gulf peoples. We have the same religion, the same culture, the same language and the same values, customs and traditions.

In a word, we are one people. What is required of the council is to crystallize and embody this meaning and to take it from the sphere of concepts to the sphere of implementation, i.e. we need to realize this creative integration at the economic, scientific, informational, cultural and educational levels. In other words, the council must work for what may be called social development in this important Arab part of the area. These are the general goals outlined and defined in detail by the Cooperation Council's charter.

Therefore, it is my opinion that there is no alternative to the success of this council because its success in performing this historic task will actually reflect the will of millions of people in the Gulf and will be an implementation of God's will who has instructed us in His book, saying: "All of you hold unto God's rope and do not scatter."

[Question] The visit of the Kuwaiti minister of foreign affairs to the Soviet Union last month aroused the interest of political circles. What are the dimensions of this visit and what were its objectives?

[Answer] This issue is clear and needs no interpretation or explanation. Moreover, it shouldn't assume bigger dimensions than it merits. This visit had been scheduled for sometime and there is constant dialogue between us and the Soviet Union because our relations with the Soviets date back to for nearly 18 years. Over this period, this relationship has at least developed at the economic level.

Kuwait follows a clear policy. We have good relations with the Soviet Union, as we have excellent realtions with other countries, beginning with the PRC and ending with all the European countries.

We adopt the principle of dialogue and we always try to win friends, to neutralize enemies and to expose those who are openly or secretly hostile to us.

The Soviet Union is a superpower and there are things to be accredited to the Soviet Union and things to be counted against it. In today's world, you can in no way ignore the Soviet Union. This is why we need to hold a dialogue--direct dialogue at both the horizontal and the vertical level--with it. It is also a frank dialogue because we say all we have to say very courageously and welcome whatever they have to say.

This policy--of dealing with everything--undoubtedly helps to enhance the Arab-European cooperation and Arab-international cooperation as well.

But this open policy doesn't mean that we accept everything we are told. We have our free will. Our having a strong relationship with the United States doesn't mean that we have become one of its states or that we think along the same lines.

In all cases, we believe in our principles which derive directly from Islam and from the orthodox religion because Islam is a deep-rooted ideology that goes beyond the U.S. capitalism and the Soviet internationalism [al-shu'ubiyah].

Political dialogue and trade agreements with other countries are primarily our international relations. These relations do not deprive us of our freedom of decision or of expression. We have told the Soviets, and in Moscow itself, that we reject Soviet expansion in that area. This is the same policy that we follow in our relationship with the United States.

All this means that Kuwait's policy is based on free dialogue with all. Diplomacy is a means and not an end and we must engage in dialogue, even with our enemies. But we must remember all along that this freedom of give-and-take should not undermine our principles and convictions. These are, generally, the fundamental features of Kuwait's foreign policy.

Therefore, the visit of the minister of foreign affairs to the Soviet Union was within this framework, exactly like any other visit to any European or non-European country.

[Question] Did the visit take place in coordination with the Gulf states?

[Answer] The minister of foreign affairs is always eager to have ongoing consultations with all the brothers. We are happy that we have warm relations with all. This is why I do not find it unlikely that this visit did take place in coordination with the other brothers in the Gulf. In any case, we familiarize the brothers with the outcome of all the contacts that take place between us and the others. On the other hand, the minister of foreign affairs is careful to have daily contact with His Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal and with the Gulf ministers of foreign affairs for the purpose of consultation and discussion.

[Question] Will an official Soviet be visiting Kuwait shortly in response, at least to the [foreign minister's] recent visit?

[Answer] No. There are no imminent visits to Kuwait by Soviet officials. It is well-known that the Soviet Union has an ambassador in Kuwait and that there are constant contacts with him.

[Question] Kuwait is conducting a concerted, and commendable, mediation between South Yemen and Oman. Where has this mediation progressed?

[Answer] Kuwait is conducting this mediation between Oman and the Democratic Yemen on a resolution by the Gulf Cooperation Council. The council's ministers of foreign affairs have entrusted the UAE and Kuwaiti ministers of foreign affairs to make this endeavor in order to realize three goals: (1) To steer the area away from any military or nonmilitary dangers. (2) To reject the presence of any military bases in this area. (3) To reject polarization and, consequently, subservience. These goals can be achieved only through common action, through settling the disputes between the brothers and through preventing any body from outside the area from interfering in our internal affairs.

There is a crisis of confidence between South Yemen and Oman. The source of this crisis is, as you know, what is said about facilities given by Yemen to the Soviet Union and facilities of another kind offered by Oman [to the United States].

Therefore, the lense must be first removed and confidence must be built between the two sisterly neighbors because the elements of kinship between them are much bigger than the elements of dispute. Each of them is closer to the other than it is to the Soviet Union.

The brothers in the two countries have agreed to the principle of contacts. This reflects goodwill and the common desire to settle existing problems. This approval is undoubtedly tantamount to a step forward.

But we must be patient, must think broadly and must not take hasty positions. This mediation must be given enough time so that its efforts may be crowned with success.

This action is the first of the council's actions. If we, God willing, succeed in it, then this success will be constitute a big forward step followed by other steps.

[Question] The Kuwaiti-Iranian relations have recently been going through a luke-warm period. What is your analysis of these relations.

[Answer] We try to have good relations with everybody, especially with our neighbors. Kuwait is one of the few countries which still have an ambassador in Tehran. This is evidence of our wish to continue and develop relations.

We do not deny that there are at present differences of views between us. But I believe that continued dialogue and the search for solutions will lead us to good results. Above all, the neighborhood has its rights which we observe and appreciate.

[Question] Sudan has restored its relations with Egypt despite the Arab boycott resolutions. What if another state embarks on a similar step?

[Answer] This issue concerns the Arab countries as a whole and, therefore, it must be submitted to the Arab League.

[Question] What is the Kuwaiti visualization for keeping the Arab Gulf area far from the superpower conflicts?

[Answer] To start with, it is proper to assert that our projection of this visualization from the Kuwaiti viewpoint doesn't mean that Kuwait is the only country which has such a visualization. Rather, we know that all the Gulf states have essentially similar visualizations, even though (they may not be the same in this or that regard). To understand our issue better, it is beneficial to touch on, even if only briefly, the fundamental reasons for the conflict of the superpowers over the area. Despite the development in international relations, in terms of their comprehensive and intricate nature, of the major role played by progress in the fields of communications and transportation in enhancing relations between nations and in terms of the role which nuclear horror still plays in making a direct and an all-out confrontation between the superpowers unlikely--despite all this, the reasons--namely the special national interests--guiding the political conduct

of the states have remained unchanged. Countries may differ in defining and determining their interests in a particular part of the world. But insofar as the Gulf area is concerned, the motives for the international movement involving this area are the same: All are in need of the area's oil, now and in the future, and all have evident interest in its strategic location. On top of all of this, the area is a field of marketing with almost boundless actual and potential capacities. This is in addition to the fact that the Gulf states collectively represent a financial power with a decisive international influence.

Insofar as oil is concerned, a quick glance at some of the statistical data concerning the Gulf oil wealth is enough to make us realize the strategic importance of this area's oil to the entire world, particularly to the superpowers.

It is well-known that the oil reserves stored under the soil of the Gulf states are estimated at nearly 70 percent of the entire world reserves. Moreover, this area produces one-half of the oil sold in the international market.

I would like to point out that the investments of the Western oil firms in the Gulf oil industry and the profit rates yielded by these investments are so enormous that they represent in themselves a fundamental interest of the Western countries owning these companies, especially the United States. If we add to these facts the fact that the Soviet Union may be compelled in the next few years to import oil from abroad to meet the rising domestic oil demand and to fulfill its commitments toward its Eastern bloc allies, then it can be concluded that this area's oil will represent for long years to come a strategic interest for the entire world, especially for the superpowers.

Even though they may differ in their positions, there is no doubt that the superpowers ultimately seek, through the positions they adopt vis-a-vis this part of the world, to secure their own interests only. We conclude from this that the international struggle over the Gulf area is not destined to serve the interests of any of the area's populations under any circumstances.

Being fully aware of this, Kuwait is seeking for the Gulf area states a common national option in the face of international conflict over the area. For this option to be acceptable, it must achieve two basic things: First, it must deflect the poisoned ideas of this conflict from our area and, secondly, it must not curtail the flexibility of movement of the area's states in any future direction that they deem necessary to serve the area's interests. Kuwait believes that this option can be centered on the following mainstays:

First, full neutrality toward this conflict because we are not a party to it and because it concerns none of our interests. By logic, this calls for refraining from embarking on any kind of political or military alliances with any of the two parties to the conflict, for not permitting either party to the conflict to set up any kind of military bases and for denying either side military facilities that may motivate the other side to acquire the same thing in the area because such action will, in turn, escalate the conflict which all are supposed to exert efforts to avoid.

Second, establishing balanced relations with all and in a manner that realizes the maximum interests of this area's states. There is no doubt that total reliance by

any of the area's countries on one side of the conflict puts such a state under the pressures of that side—pressures that may at times reach the limit of extortion. The establishment of normal and balanced relations by all of the Gulf area states with both sides to the conflict is capable essentially of deescalating the severity of the conflict. Normal relations enjoyed by both sides to the conflict with the area's countries will automatically provide each side with the opportunity to enhance its legitimate interests in an atmosphere of cooperation and understanding with the area's countries themselves and not through engaging in an explosive conflict with the other superpowers.

Third, bolstering cooperation and coordination with the Arab countries beyond the Gulf region. It is certain that the emergence of the Gulf area as a part of a vast world that possesses extensive actual and potential resources, namely the Arab world, bolsters the position of the Gulf area. In addition to the strategic dimension that the Arab homeland represents for the Gulf region, the realization of the highest degree of harmony possible between the positions of the Gulf region states and the other Arab countries is capable of bolstering the international position of the Gulf area's states, especially in their dealings with the two leaders of the conflict over this area. We must point out here that even if all the Gulf states can be persuaded to adopt this option, which Kuwait has actually adopted with all of its three mainpoints, there will still be more for these states to do, in addition to taking this option, to make it possible to steer our countries away from the dangers of the conflict of the others over this area. We must also not forget that all the Gulf states believe that the responsibility of security and stability in this area is the responsibility of the area's states, without any foreign intervention.

[Question] What are the main features of the Gulf Cooperation Council?

[Answer] The Supreme Council is comprised of the heads of state of the member states. It will meet twice annually and its chairmanship will be alternated alphabetically.

The Dispute Arbitration Committee is under the direct control of the Supreme Council.

The Ministerial Council is comprised of the ministers of foreign affairs of the member states or of their deputies. The Ministerial Council will meet four times annually.

The headquarters of the General Secretariat is in the city of Riyadh and the secretariat is headed by a general secretary appointed by the Supreme Council from one of the member states.

[Question] What are Kuwait's hopes regarding the possibility of unifying the foreign policy of the area's states in the future?

[Answer] First, we must not forget that the current welcome for the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council definitely mirrors a reflection of (the sentiments) which the Kuwaiti and other initiatives of the early 1960's received. Moreover, Kuwait realizes that if we can collectively defuse the international conflict over this area in the manner projected by the Kuwaiti visualization, the continued

stability of the conditions in **this** area will certainly require further internal efforts for greater prosperity for the area's peoples. This will, in turn, require achieving more progress in the sphere of public freedoms and of popular participation in assessing and determining this area's future. There is no doubt that instability in the domestic conditions of any of the Gulf states will be a cause for the return of the influence of foreign powers and their conflict over the area.

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PHOSPHATE ROLE IN MOROCCAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REVIEWED

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[Text] Billions of marine animals that died some 60 million years ago constitute Morocco's greatest hope in its race to development. Settling and slowly decomposing on the ocean floor, their skeletons have formed sedimentary layers which mankind urgently needs in order to ensure its food survival: phosphates. Only the steely ivory of a few shark's teeth that escaped decomposition still bear witness to that distant phase of the life cycle in the hills of central Morocco, where the white or dark grey ore lies in four main deposits stretching out over a total area of some 884,000 hectares.

With the Bou-Craa deposit in the Western Sahara whose working was undertaken by the Spanish and which covers 26,800 hectares, the region's phosphate reserves are estimated at 57.8 billion tons, three-fourths of the world's known reserves.

In 1920, a monopoly over the working of this veritable "geological scandal," to use the expression of a French engineer, was entrusted by Marshal Lyautey and Sultan Moulay Youssef to the first organization of the type ever set up in the entire "French Empire": the Moroccan Phosphates Office (OCP). "Although the mining and management situation of today contrasts with that of 1920," says Mohamed Karim Lamrani, general director of the OCP, "the structures of the Office are still valid because with the government as its sole shareholder, it has always had the dynamic features of private enterprise."

Over the years, the OCP has become the third-ranking producer (19 million tons in 1980) and the front-ranking exporter in the world (over 17 million tons of phosphates and derivatives in 1980). It is one of the largest enterprises on the African continent. Despite its exceptional size (25,000 persons; over \$1 billion turnover in 1980) and its preeminent rank in Moroccan foreign trade (over one-third of the total value of exports), Karim Lamrani denies that the firm is "a state within a state." Or rather, he states that if the OCP has reached such a point, it is because it was forced to, by the government as well as by local communities. "The OCP was set up in arid regions totally lacking in equipment. It had to build all the infrastructures itself. In fact, the OCP is the goose that laid the golden egg."

This is not at all surprising when one considers, for example, that 80 percent of the active population of the mining city of Khouribga work at the OCP. The water and electricity for this compound of 110,000 inhabitants are supplied by the OCP.

In order to begin to work the new deposit at Gantour, the OCP built a new city alongside Benguerir planned for 20,000 inhabitants. Homes for engineers and foremen are mingled with those of the workers instead of being in separate sections. A single school, ochre in color like the rest of the buildings, is already admitting pupils from the nursery school, who will learn French and Arabic at the same time.

A large part of the ore, in horizontal layers near the surface of the ground, is worked by strip mining. Equipment includes gigantic cranes, earth movers, enormous 170-ton trucks and hundreds of kilometers of conveyer belts. Their branches stretch out over the dry plain toward the drying and storage units, whence the phosphate is taken to the chemical plants and ports on the Atlantic Coast. When the phosphate is deeper in the earth, underground mining is done, as in the case of the Youssoufia black phosphate deposit. The time when miners groped around in poorly ventilated tunnels using pickaxes or shovels to get the ore out is long gone. The moving retaining wall system used here makes more use of skilled technicians and workers than it does maneuvers. The machine moves forward along a 22-meter face, scraping the 2- to 3-meter thick layer of phosphate ore, which is sent out on the conveyer belt. Most of the OCP workers are trained at the enterprise's schools and centers.

Not content to be the world's front-ranking phosphate exporter, Morocco has undertaken to turn it into phosphoric acid and fertilizer and plans to extract uranium from it. A phosphoric acid production unit, Morocco-Phosphorus 1, is already in operation at Safi, on the Atlantic Coast. With Morocco-Phosphorus 2, scheduled to go into production this year, the annual production potential will be 1.5 million tons. The Morocco-Phosphorus 3 and 4 units, which are to be built at the port of Jorf Lasfar now under construction south of El-Jadida and whose capacity will exceed that of the port of Casablanca, will enable Morocco to become the world's third-ranking producer of phosphoric acid, behind the United States and the Soviet Union. This position will be consolidated by the construction of a fifth unit in the Nador complex on the Mediterranean Coast.

"Phosphate is a product that is indispensable to agricultural development" says Karim Lamrani, "and it cannot be replaced. Therefore, its demand will continue to grow in the long run." As a result, the general director of the OCP has drawn up a new development plan for the coming years, providing for an average annual growth of 5 percent that will enable Morocco to win one-third of the world's additional production.

The investments needed are enormous: from 23 to 26 billion French francs, half in foreign exchange. Consultations are underway with France in order to study future financing under the best possible conditions. The "fallout" for French enterprises would be enormous, the OCP says, which emphasizes its determination to standardize and rationalize by calling upon a single technological source. A major contract was signed in 1978 with the Soviet Union, however. On the order of \$2 billion and for some 30 years, it provides for the working of the Meskala deposit and the delivery of 10 million tons of phosphate a year beginning in 1986, in exchange for Soviet oil, ammonia, sulfur and pit props.

For the time being, Moroccan phosphate exports (\$1.1 billion in 1980) scarcely cover oil imports, but the OCP hopes for a resumption of exports in 1981 although they dropped in tonnage in 1980 as a result of a 45-percent price increase. Morocco's continued development depends on it.

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